

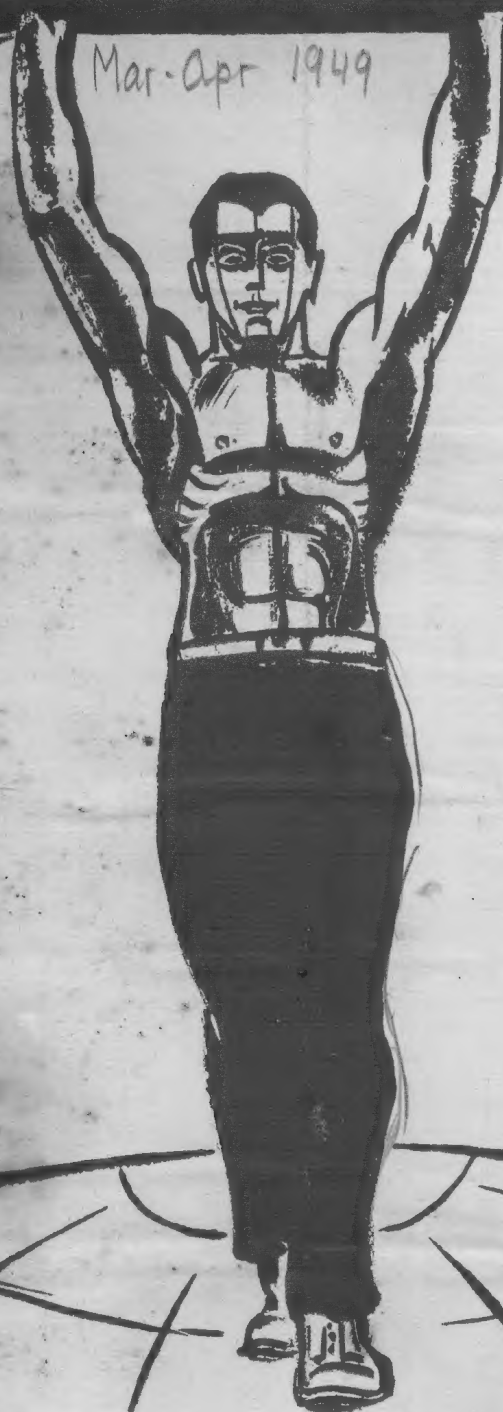
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European Publications

Battaglia Comunista - Italy  
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ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning with the next issue, "International Bulletin" will change its name to "The Internationalist" a Marxist quarterly. It will be printed, instead of mimeographed. The first number of "The Internationalist" will contain "A History of the Left Communist International", and a penetrating analysis of the factors permitting the capitalist system to continue its existence, long after it has outlived its "usefulness". This last is written by Lucain, Belgian revolutionary Marxist.

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Note - The series of articles on "The Nature, Function, and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party" will be continued in full in the second number of "The Internationalist".

**Character of the American Trade Unions  
Under the Roosevelt "New Deal" and  
the Truman "Fair Deal".**

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The evolution of trade unionism from independent mass movements leading toward a revolutionary solution of the crisis of capitalism is at an end. Today the trade union movement is an organ of the capitalist state apparatus, as part of the trend to State Capitalism in the U.S.

The present function of the trade unions was reached beginning with the Roosevelt New Deal. Heavy industry, including the banks, connected with heavy industry, due to the latter's permanent demand for new capital, created an ever widening scissors between it and the light-goods industrialists and merchants, unable to resist the domination of the banks with heavy industry were further weakened by the then current depression, and the mass lay-offs of workers in heavy industry. These mass lay-offs ruined the retail market.

Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Hoover administration, the light-goods industrialists supported Roosevelt and the New Deal. While the New Deal seemed to support measures exclusively directed against the banks and heavy industry, it did not mean that the New Deal was abolishing capitalism gradually, but on the contrary, entering the phase of State Capitalist intervention in the economy to bolster production, and to bring about greater parity within the ruling class. The result, light goods industry and the merchants were faced with a power, greater than heavy industry and the banks, a power partly of its own creation, the State. Its own state, to be sure, but a state that put an end to "liberal," free enterprise" capitalism.

The New Deal light industrialists in order to stave off the destruction of the retail market because of unemployment in heavy industry, supported the Committee for Industrial Organizations of the C.I.O. lead by John L. Lewis at the time. The Organization of the unorganized was primarily directed against heavy industry—automobile, steel, oil, coal and chemical. Even if the C.I.O. organizes light industries, the light industrialists are secure in the knowledge that the retail market will not disappear. Thus, the C.I.O. was and is an organism of the State in its drive to bolster a tottering economy, and to prevent the capitalist class from devouring itself, as well as to channelize the workers away from revolution.

The A.F.L. on the other hand represents the "Gompers" period of business unionism dominated by craft industry and craft organization. The type of unionism accepted by the U.S. capitalists class in the period of the ascendancy of capitalism, the period, more or less, of "free enterprise."

Today, however, with secondary differences, the primary relation of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. to the U.S. capitalist government is that of instruments to execute the commands of that government. The A.F.L. and C.I.O. are not merely the labor lieutenants of capitalism. They are not merely channelizers of workers revolt into the currents of reformism. They are a labor front in the totalitarian development of American Imperialism.

Under the Truman "Fair Deal," the C.I.O. and A.F.L., carry out the orders of the U.S. government to propagandize for the domination of Europe and the world by American Imperialism through the Marshall Plan. They carry out the orders to become bastions of anti-communism. They carry out the orders to support the new step in the preparation of war between the American Imperialist bloc and Russian Imperialism, the Atlantic Pact. They seek ways and means to bolster capitalist production. They serve in time of war the military interests as well as social, of the U.S. capitalist State.

Therefore these organizations are not proletarian in the militant and revolutionary sense. The revolutionary can only recruit individual workers, inside these unions at present, to the program of revolutionary communism, in the manner that he would

in "unorganized industries." The winning of recruits to the program of revolutionary communism will accomplish the purpose of building the framework for a revolutionary party whose task will be the leadership and guidance of workers in the construction of unions with revolutionary instead of counter-revolutionary goals.

This means, therefore that the perspective of reform of the reactionary C.I.O. and A.F.L. is excluded, because in view of the fact they are organisms for the suppression of the working class in the period, at present, of the State Capitalist intervention into the economy, reform of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. opens up the fatal illusion of the possibility of reforming the capitalist state itself.

No matter how revolutionary sounding they may be, those political tendencies (Trotskyism, Stalinism, Social-Democracy) that collaborate in any manner, shape, or form, (such as holding functionaries posts etc.), with the A.F.L. and C.I.O. bureaucracy, only strengthen capitalism and its state.

The only platform that offers the key to the problem is the platform of revolutionary communism:-

### Where We Stand

1-Our conception of the world and the society proper to it is that of Marx's scientific Socialism.

2-For the reconstitution of a Revolutionary International against the Internationals of betrayal (Social Democracy, Stalinism, Trotskyism)

3-Against collaboration with the bourgeois and pseudo-proletarian parties which uphold the false and deceitful banner of "true democracy." Therefore we oppose the "united front" which is a front opposed to the working class.

4-We denounce as counter-revolutionary, every movement which, with an eye to easier agitation and electoral success views parliamentary decisions as useful. During electoral campaigns we continue the agitation for the general historic aims of the working class. We do not take the least responsibility for the pseudo-proletarian parties (Stalinist, Socialist, Trotskyite or Laborite).

5-The trade unions of the C.I.O. and A.F.L., Railroad Brotherhoods and "Independent Unions", are part of the legal apparatus of the Capitalist State. Working class unity will be achieved on the basis of the platform of the party of the revolution, and, under its leadership, within those organisms, created in the revival of the proletarian class struggle.

6-The farm-workers are the class-brothers of the Industrial workers and must be won to a position of class-solidarity.

7-All so-called movements of colonial independence have an Imperialist base. There does not exist for the colonial and semi-colonial areas, any longer, the problem of a bourgeois revolution. The only road is proletarian revolution.

8-The proletariat must work for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and its satellites in the advanced industrial sectors of world capitalism, as well as for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and satellites in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of world capitalism, in time of war.

9-The defeat of the bourgeoisie, on a world scale, accomplished through the civil wars of the proletariat, under the guidance and leadership of the Revolutionary International Party, will be the beginning of the Socialist Reorganization of Society under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

10-The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, will serve as the transition to the classless society of Socialism, where the State will cease to exist, and Government and Tyranny, the history of the past.

11-The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not to be understood as a defense of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will arise in Russia, which is now an Imperialist State, through socialist revolution.

## Organization and Communist Discipline

### Premises of the Problem

The problems inherent to the internal life of revolutionary parties present great actual interest, due to the recent and important discussion in the Russian Communist Party. Also, because, sprouting out anew, throughout all the wrong communist polemics, is the ideology of other movements claiming hegemony of the proletariat. They are the source throughout, of all the issues of disagreement in the internal debates and the root of specific crises of our communist international organization.

In general the question is posed in an erroneous manner because of the following criteria; mechanical dependence on a type of centralization vs. the democratic majority. On the contrary, the question must be posed according to the dialectic and historic method. For we Marxists, a "principle," that is either centralization or democratic, has no significance, in as much as the line decided upon prior to the principal action should resolve the problem.

In one of the numbers of "Rassegna Comunista," the author of these lines published an article on the "Democratic Principle."

1)-Consideration of the application in the State, the Union organization and the Political organization, in their development, the proof that for us, such a principle has no consistency. In a circumstance where one is perhaps able to speak only of a mechanism of arithmetic and majority democracy, is useful, for the given organization in a given historic situation, to introduce or not to introduce.

In Marxist thought is continued the criticism of the pompous illusion of majority rule to which the right road is named always by the total number voting; in which each individual is supposed to be as important and influential as the next. The Marxist critique of the criterion of the majority, rejects it as an illusion, not only in the monumental fraud of the bourgeois parliamentary State, but as well for the functioning of the revolutionary state, its proletarian economic organisms, and the revolutionary party. But cautioning the eventuality of the necessity to apply this mechanism in case of the failure of better organizational agreement. Nobody, however, recognizes more than we Marxists, the importance of the function of organized minorities, and the absolute necessity on the other hand in the phase of revolutionary struggle, that the party and the class who lead the action must be under the strict direction of the leadership of its organization and the resultant, most solid discipline.

The fact of our future liberation from all the appearances of equality and democracy is not dependent by any means on us, in order to erect a new standard which should be the negation of the formalist, metaphysical democratic presumption. We have analyzed this subject in the first part of our article on the national question with regard to the method to use for the perspectives of the great problems of Communism.

In practice, the organizational mechanism and the rule of internal functioning of communist parties is an intermediary line, between absolute centralism and absolute democracy. This resulted, as well, from the expression of "democratic centralism," which we find again in the literature of the International. That which comrade Trotsky sagely called it in characterizing the big discussions among the Russian comrades.

We wish to say immediately we do not have any confidence in the power to demand solutions of revolutionary problems on the traditional and abstract principles of "liberty and "authority". Neither are we satisfied by an expedient which has confidence to give us an answer by a sort of melange of the two aforementioned terms. The communist position, in the problems of organization and discipline must, in our opinion, be much more complete, more satisfying, more original. In order to indicate in a synthesis, (for clarification; we are against federalist autonomy, and accept the term, centralism for the synthesis, and unity in opposition to the liberal and accidental association of forces arising from the most diverse and



independent motives, we preferred long ago, the expression, "organic centralism." A development more complete than that last conclusion, "democratic centralism". We have found more correctly still that in the analyses contained in this study, which represents some initial premises, will very probably be in the texts which are to be discussed at the 5th Congress of the International. The problem is considered in part, in the theses on tactics for the 4th Congress of the C.I., which has been republished recently in "State Operaio."

It will now be necessary to refer to some historic elements which are necessary to take into account in order to avoid a too simple solution of the problem; those who, at each moment, wish a vote be taken to establish majority rule, and the others who wish, by contrast, to give each time authority to the central and supreme leadership. The point in question is to determine how one must arrive by a real and dialectic road, to an effective resolution of dilemmas sometimes painful to those arising from problems of a disciplinary character.

Let us return to the history of the traditional Socialist Parties of the 2nd International. These parties, through the voice of opportunists who in taking the leadership, take refuge in the shadow of the principles of bourgeois democracy and autonomy of local organs. But that does not prevent, under cover of discipline of the majority, discipline to the chiefs, used against the groups of the left reacting to the opportunist and revisionist currents. Better yet, this discipline foreshadows the fundamental expedient by which these parties acquit themselves, above all, from the opening of World War I, in the function - in which they degenerate - of instruments for the ideological and political mobilization of the working class by the bourgeoisie. A veritable dictatorship of the right is then enforced, against which the revolutionaries sharply struggle, not because the immanent principles of the internal democracy of the party is being violated or for struggle against the criteria of the concentration of the party of the class - that, by contrast the left Marxists demand - but because in the concrete reality, it must oppose itself effectively to the anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary.

One is fully justified, in these parties to build opposition factions to the leading groups, to conduct against them pitiless criticism, in order to arrive finally at a separation and a split, which will permit the founding of a real communist party.

It is therefore evident that the criteria of discipline, in the given situation, used by the counter-revolutionaries serves to shackle the development which leads to the formation of a true class party.

The most glorious example, of how it is necessary to understand to condemn the demagogic influence of sophisms, to us, is justly given by Lenin which he attacked a hundred times as disruptive, violating of duties toward the party, but who pursued his path unperturbed, and predicted the demand of sound Marxist criteria, of organic centralization of the State and the Party of the revolution. By contrast, the most horrible example of formalist and bureaucratic discipline is given us by the vote that Karl Leibknecht himself considered obliged to give, Aug. 4, 1914, for war credits.

It is then certain that at a given moment and in a situation to occur and perhaps reoccur should be best studied in its own time, the revolutionary orientation manifests itself by the rupture of the discipline and the bureaucracy of the pre-existing organization.

It is not otherwise in the midst of union organizations, whereof many are again, today led by counter-revolutionary groups. Here, as well, the leading elements are very tender toward bourgeois democracy and liberty and range themselves alongside those who recoil with horror at the communist theses on force and the revolutionary dictatorship.... that does not prevent the communists, struggling in the midst of such organisms, from continually denouncing the dictatorial procedure of the bureaucracy, and the concrete method to attempt to overthrow it consists in the demand for meetings and the application, in the voting, of a democratic practice.

That is not to say that we must take refuge in a dogmatic belief in statutory democracy. It is not excluded that in some given situations, it may be necessary to take the direction of similar organisms by a coup de force. The guide which we rely on is our revolutionary aim. Never, for us, any formal and constant respect towards the officially invested leadership, nor do we consider as an indispensable accomplishment, all the formalities of elective consultation. We repeat that our solution must be found in a method totally different and superior. The problem becomes much more difficult and more delicate when we pass to the examination of the internal life of the parties of the Communist International. In this historic process we separate from the situation which, in the old international suggests the constitution of fractions which being parties within a party, determined the systematic rupture of discipline in order that we go forward toward a fruitful split with revolutionary consequences.

Our opinion on this problem is that one is not able to resolve the question of organization and discipline within the communist movement, without remaining in strict liason with the questions of theory, program and tactics.

Let us construct in our minds an ideal type of revolutionary party - a goal that we wish to attain - and attempt to trace the internal construction and way of life of this party. We easily arrive at the conclusion that in such a party, the competition of factions and disagreement of the lower organs with the directives of the central organ is inadmissible. But if we apply "sic et simpliciter" these conclusions to the life of our parties and our international, we will never resolve them. Certainly not, because such an integral application, for us, is not highly desirable, for in practice, we by no means come to a similar application. More than the exception, the facts guiding us, to be recognized as the rule, is the division of the communist parties into factions, and divergences, becoming sometimes conflicts between these parties and the International.

Unfortunately, the solution is not so easy.

It must be recognized that the International is not functioning as a united world communist party. It is on the way to accomplish this result, without doubt, and has made gigantic steps in comparison to the old International. But, for us, to assure that it proceeds effectively in the desired direction, the objective of our communist activity, we must have confidence in the revolutionary capacity of our glorious world organization to continue working while basing itself on the control and the rational evaluation of all that arises in the rank - and - file including political positions.

One eliminates some false aspects of the problem when one considers the maximum and perfect discipline, as springing from a universe assent. This, in order to find the critical solution of all the problems of the movement, not as a result, not as an infallible means to use blindly. Only this and no more, the International is the world communist party and should be given the fidelity to that which emanates from the central organisms.

We must remember, in order to begin our analysis of the question, that the communist parties are organisms of a voluntary adhesion. That is a fact inherent in the historic nature of parties and by no means the recognition of any principle or pattern whatsoever. The fact is that we are not able to compel anybody to take out our membership card. We are well able to establish rules of internal discipline. Each of our adherents is not in the least free to quit us when he believes it opportune. We do not wish to say if this is desirable or not, that these matters are thus; the fact is that these matters are what they are and there is no apt means to change them. In consequence, we are able to adopt the formula, certainly rich enough in advantages, of absolute obedience in the execution of directives from the summit.

The directives of the central leadership give, and are not the point of departure, but the result of the function of the movement understood as a collectivity. This is not said in the foolishly democratic and juridical sense, but in the real and historic sense.

We do not defend it in stating the "right" of the masses of communists to elaborate the directives to which the masses and the leadership must adhere. We verify, prove, establish undeniably, that in these terms, is presented the formation of a party of the class. On these premises we must pose the analysis of the problem.

In this we clarify the schema of conclusions to which we hold. We reject mechanical discipline good for the execution of commands and the moods of the superiors. There is an ensemble of directives and dispositions - corresponding to the real aim of the movement - which guarantees the maximum of discipline. That is to say, the united action of the whole organism, in such case, that what there is of other directives given by the center permits of discipline and organizational solidarity. The point in question then is to trace the tasks of the leading organs. Who should do it? The whole party must; the whole organization; not in the banal and parliamentary sense of the right to be consulted on the mandate, to confer with the elective chiefs, and on the limits of this last, but in the dialectic sense, which views the tradition, the preparation, the real continuity of the thought and action of the movement. Precisely because we are anti-democratic we think that on this question, a minority might have vision corresponding more to the interests of the revolutionary process than that of the majority. Certainly, this seldom happens. In the case in which is presented the overthrow of discipline, in the manner verified in the old International, is extremely grave. It is desirable that it does not arise within our ranks. But without thinking of extreme cases, in other situations less critical, less aggravating, the contribution of groups is useful and indispensable in order to make more precise, the directives originating from the central leadership.

In brief, here it is the base of the study of the question which must be handled in taking account of the veritable historic nature of the party of the class; the organism which is the expression of the unification toward one central aim and common to all the particular struggles arising on the social terrain; an organism which is characterized by the voluntary nature of adherence.

We sum up thus, our thesis and belief to be fidelity to the Marxian dialectic; the action that the party develops and its tactics, i.e., the manner by which the party acts externally, have, in their turn, consequences for its internal organization and constitution. That which, in the name of a loose discipline, pretends to engage the party in whatsoever an action, a tactic, a strategic maneuver, to understand without limits well defined, known by the ensemble of the militants, fatally compromises the party.

We will arrive at the desirable maximum of unity and of solid discipline only if we handle the problem on this platform and not with the pretension that is resolved by a banal rule of mechanical obedience.

Amadeo Bordiga (May, 1924)

Translated from the French, by  
Dana March, 1949, from the  
March 1934, "Bilan", Communist  
Internationalist Party of Italy



Leon Trotsky wrote, "The attempt to represent the Soviet bureaucracy as a class of 'State Capitalists' will obviously not withstand criticism. The bureaucracy has neither stocks nor bonds. It is recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy, independently of any special property relations of its own. The individual bureaucrat cannot transmit to his heirs his rights in the exploitation of the State apparatus. The bureaucracy enjoys its privileges under the form of an abuse of power. It conceals its income; it pretends that as a special social group it does not even exist. Its appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism. All this makes the position of the commanding Soviet stratum in the highest degree contradictory, equivocal and undignified, notwithstanding the completeness of its power and the smoke screen of flattery that conceals it". *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937.

In every sense of the word, Trotsky is proven wrong by the facts.

The "bureaucracy" has stocks and bonds.

As the owner of state bonds in the United States, the owners of state bonds in Russia receive their profit through the State. In Russia, their profit is in the form of interest at 5%.

This represents profit in payment for the use of capital. This is exploitation of wage labor in the most finished form, through State capital.

The bourgeois right of inheriting property is part of "Soviet" law. The state capitalist has the right to bequeath to heirs his share of state bonds. Thus, he who owns bonds possesses the right of exploitation of the workers through the State.

In addition, the position of the Russian ruling class inside the State apparatus from which it receives "salaries" of administration is a veiled form of extracting surplus value from the exploitation of labor. In industry and on the land the relations in production are revealed by the relationship of the classes to the State property (means of production). Through its successful counter-revolution, the Russian State capitalists have liquidated the workers State power and established its own power, the power of a State Capitalist class. This class through its Bonds, i.e. 5% interest for the use of its capital by its own State, and the "salaries" for direct exploitation by its State through its Statefied Industry and Agriculture, constitute its relation to production and the basis of its class privileges, such as superior food, clothing, housing, education, maids, butlers, chauffeurs, yachts etc.

State capitalism in Russia shows its face through government bureaus (i.e., the trade unions, factory managers, "soviets", N.K.V.D. security police, forced labor camps). The trade unions, as one of the segments of the State, as the trade unions in Western capitalism, are a labor front of the Russian state for increasing production at a rate (in concurrence with the laws of motion of the capitalist economy) far outstripping the level of life of the masses.

On the land, as in industry the governing principle is that which is stated in the Russian constitution, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". An abomination of Lenin's analysis of the lowest stage of communism,--- "consisting in the distribution of the articles of consumption" according to work performed" (and not according to need). Lenin, "State and Revolution, Int'l Publishers, 1932, p. 77. An abomination because there is no evidence of any tendency to equalize or to abolish the wages system in Russia. On the contrary, the

rise of a new capitalist class has revived the most varied, contrasting wage differentials as great as in Western Capitalism. The peasantry still exists as a class and is permitted shares in the collective farms. These collectives are like capitalist corporations in that the petty-bourgeois shareholder in the collective, receives a return on his shares in proportion to the amount invested. While the Russian legal code, forbids him to hire labor, his state bonds pay interest out of the exploitation of the industrial worker in the city. In addition, this petty bourgeoisie has investments in savings banks and can hand down their property to heirs. The directors of the farm collectives stand in the relation of a board of directors (State Capitalists) to this petty bourgeois.

The nationalized property of the October Revolution is liquidated. In its stead is property state owned and administered by a State capitalist class, for which there is no other term than the classic Marxist term, State Capitalism.

The key to understanding the process by which the workers lost State power in Russia, and thus their control over the economy was provided by Lenin. For example, on the New Economic Policy he wrote, "Freedom of exchange means freedom for capitalism --- a new form of capitalism - It is state capitalism. But State capitalism in a society in which power belongs to capital and state capitalism in a proletarian state are two different concepts. In a capitalist state, state capitalism is recognized by the state and is controlled by it for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and in opposition to the interests of the proletariat. In the proletarian state, the same thing is done for the benefit of the working class".

Lenin, "Selected Works, Vol. IX

"The Tactics of the R.C.P. at 3rd

Congress of C.I., July 5, 1921, P.238.

In addition, he stated, "State capitalism in the form that we have it here is not dealt with in any theory, or in any literature, for the simple reason that all the usual concepts connected with this term are associated with the bourgeois state in capitalist society. The concrete form state capitalism took in Russia at that time was setting up of "seventeen companies with a combined capital amounting to many millions - we have formed companies jointly with Russian and foreign Capitalists".

Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IX, P.C report of

C.C. to 11th RCP Congress, Mar. 27, 1922, P. 339

Further, "The simplest case - of how the Soviet government - implants state capitalism in concessions" - "The cooperatives are also a form of state capitalism, but less simple". A third form: "The state enlists the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission on the sale of state goods and on the purchase of the produce of the small producer. A fourth form: the state leases to the capitalist entrepreneur establishments, hunting and fishing territories, forest sections, land, etc, which belong to the state, the lease being very similar to a concession agreement".

Lenin, Selected works, Vol. IX- "The Food Tax,

April 21, 1921, PP. 182, 185.

It is clear that we have in the above passages a lucid description of the operations of the State in the sphere of capital investment, both, in the present trend to state capitalism in the western capitalist states, as well as that of Russia.

Only those whose political thinking belong in a museum of ancient antiques can fail to see that the destruction of workers' control over the means of production; the transformation of the trade unions into state instruments for the exploitation of the workers; the substitution by factory managers of rank and file shop delegates; the transformation of the soviets into rubber stamps for the bourgeois measures of the Russian state; the erection of a military officers corps with rank, and medals demanding obedience from the private, the secret police; piece-work wages on a

national scale; the reestablishment of norms in sex and marriage similar to the Catholic church; the forced labor camps; reactionary decrees on art, music, science; signifies that in the relations of production, as well as in the superstructure (culture, morality, religion) the State capitalism of the workers' state that Lenin spoke of has evolved through a series of internal convulsions into the State capitalism of the bourgeois state.

It is obvious that on this fundamental problem of revolutionary Marxism, Trotskyism collapses. We mourn Trotsky, but we do not mourn the death of the fiction that Trotskyism is the continuation of Leninism.

That section of Trotskyism which admits that Russia is not a workers' state and will not defend it, nevertheless has not broken the strings attaching it to the false line of Trotsky. By insisting on analyzing and characterizing the present Russian system as bureaucratic collectivism, it reveals that it considers as Trotsky did, and this is the heart of the question, that State ownership of the means of production is impossible under capitalism. Therefore, they, along with the "orthodox" Trotskyists fall into the trap of advocating state ownership of communications, transportation etc. under capitalism, as a progressive step. This leads them to form a common front with Bourgeois liberalism, (and when is liberalism not bourgeois?).

The characterization of the present trend in world economy as state capitalism, of which Russia is part is an appellation dignified in the best tradition of Marxist thought.

These are:- Marx, Vol. I, of "Capital";  
Engels, "Anti-Duhring"  
Bukharin, "ABC of Communism".

Marx understood that the struggle of capital to enforce its property rights, at a certain stage, reaches the state level. He wrote, "In former times, capital resorted to legislation, whenever necessary, to enforce its proprietary rights over the free laborer. For instance, down to 1815, the emigration of mechanics employed in machine making was, in England, forbidden, under grievous pains and penalties". Karl Marx - Vol I - "capital", p. 628  
Further, he wrote, "In consequence of the civil war in the United States and of the accompanying cotton famine, the majority of the cotton operatives in Lancashire were, as is well known, thrown out of work. Both from the working-class itself, and from other ranks of society, there arose a cry for State aid-----. IBID - P. 629

We come now to a consideration of the aspect concerning Russian expansion. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. State capitalism is the highest stage of Imperialism. Lenin's concept of Imperialism as written in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" is applicable to Russia. Russia imports and exports capital.

For example:- Poland received \$450,000,000 in credits from Russia, in a treaty encompassing \$1,000,000,000 dollars in reciprocal exchange, in January 1948. Entire economies are monopolized by Russian capital. It aims to be the main capital exporter to its spheres of influence, or it must give way in the competition with rival capital exporters. Russia must offer in its spheres of influence machinery, parts and replacements or be defeated in the deep-going economic conflict with the U.S. for the world capital goods market.

Under Lenin and the Bolsheviks, annexations, secret treaties, indemnities were renounced. They declared:- "Let us imagine what would happen if the workers Soviets of Great Russia were to attempt by force of arms to coerce the working class of other nations into submission. The latter would mean the complete collapse of



the whole of all proletarian movements and the fall of the Revolution".

What Lenin and the Bolsheviks imagined has come to pass.

The Russian State under Stalin expands by export of capital, military conquests, land grabbing and propaganda pressure. It builds mixed capitalist corporations thruout Europe i.e., with Russian state bank representatives and native boards of directors. Russia employs her military occupation and communist parties to reinforce her state capitalist rule in order to produce the capital goods on which depend her imperialist position.

The revival of revolutionary communism on an international scale demands an understanding of all the essential aspects of the Russian question. The principles flowing from that understanding will eventually unite all revolutionary elements of society on the platform of revolutionary communism.

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